20c DECEMBER 1, 1952 THE EISENHOWER CABINET—page 7

# New Republic

## EISENHOWER IN KOREA

## SOLID SOUTH: CRACKED OR BROKEN?

By V. O. Key Jr.

## TV—NEW WEAPON IN POLITICS

By Paul Seabury

*Reviews of*

Jean-Louis Barrault's *REPERTORY*

By Eric Bentley

James T. Farrell's *YET OTHER WATERS*

By Malcolm Cowley

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# Letters

## Keeping Stevenson Going

[Scores of readers have written to the *New Republic* that they would like to contribute to a fund to continue bringing Adlai Stevenson before the public through radio and television. Governor Stevenson is not expected to make known his future plans in this regard until after his term of office as Governor of Illinois has expired. However, the *New Republic* in the intervening time will be glad to accept any contributions its readers care to send to us for that purpose and retain them to be turned over to representatives of the Governor at the proper time. Contributions should be sent to Stevenson Fund c/o New Republic, 1416 F Street N.W., Washington, D.C. – THE EDITORS.]

Following are a few samples of the mail we have received on this subject:

● I read the letter written by Don Wilcox, "Let's Keep Stevenson Going" (*NR*, Nov. 17) with interest. That has been one of my hopes and prayers—to keep Adlai before the American people. We need him. His faith, his integrity, his intelligence. I never in my whole life wanted anything more than Adlai Stevenson's election. I could not vote because I am only 17, but you can bet I'm looking forward to 1956.

*Huron, S.D.* LENORE KIRBY

● Now more than before, the need for keeping the inspiring voice of Adlai Stevenson alive through radio and television looms doubly urgent. . . . I am eager and willing to express my hopes and faith in Mr. Stevenson through the fund plan. I also speak for five members in my family.

*Jersey City, N.J.* MILDRED B. WHITE

● The one bright light of this irrational election is the intensity of devotion Stevenson created among the 25 million or more who voted for him. With Mr. Don Wilcox I feel this enthusiasm must be kept alive, and utilized constructively to finance by popular contributions periodic addresses by Governor Stevenson in the years ahead. Let us face it: Opinion in America is now wholly at the mercy of a stupid reactionary press; its power is no longer tempered by the fact that we have a Democratic President focusing the mind of the nation on public problems. Both the government and the press are now owned. If the people, if freedom itself is to escape obliteration, then the people must dig down and pay for transmission of truth to the nation. If we do not do this, the outlook for free government is very dismal; for free government cannot flourish in the teeth of an unfree press hostile to reason, truth, and free discussion of public problems. . . .

*New York City* G. R. GARRETT

● Just got my November 17 issue and Don Wilcox's idea to get money together to keep Adlai Stevenson on radio and TV periodically sounds like hot stuff.

I'm in academic medicine and don't have the income the AMA doctors do; but when you get some program worked out whereby Stevenson is going to be able to keep Ike on the promise-fulfillment ball by reminding him and the people of what the issues were and are—why get in touch. I ought to have another small stake together by then and I know a few other guys who got as churned up about the man Adlai as I did.

HOLBROKE S. SELTZER

*Willow Run, Mich.*

● The fine suggestions of Don Wilcox (*NR*, November 17) and James Doyle require sober second thought. I offer a minority opinion.

Mr. Edwin C. Hill in his radio broadcast of November 5, said, "Governor Stevenson talked sense to the American people; something no politician will dare do for the next 100 years." If he is right then the logical step would be to ask Governor Stevenson his position in the matter. The views of those whose years of political experience qualify them should also be sought out. That would seem to be step number one.

Ike won because the Democrats gave every man a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage; thus aligning the average man in his thoughts with the economic royalists and he so voted. Step number two would then seem to be for the Democrats to assist the Republicans in showing the average man how wrong he was. . . .

When all concerned are heard from and a modus operandi agreed upon, count me in but let's not go off half cocked.

*Auburndale, Mass.* JOHN F. WEATHERLY

● I am interested in a letter appearing in your November 17 issue called, "Let's Keep Stevenson Going." My husband and I have both missed hearing Stevenson's voice on the radio and wish that we could hear from him again.

We feel that it will be a good thing to have a *constructive opposition;* not only to keep together the millions who voted for Stevenson but to act as a challenge to the new Administration, especially if it becomes controlled by Old Guard policies. How can the liberals sit back without complaint or criticism if isolationism takes over again in foreign affairs and reaction in the domestic scene?

We enjoy your magazine profoundly and look to your intelligent pages to understand the tangled affairs of the world; especially as the editorial page of all our newspapers are so *colored* by Republican propaganda!

*Imbler, Ore.* MRS. A. K. LARSEN

● Yes, by all means! An outlet for Stevenson via monthly, or at least periodic broadcasts sponsored by his widespread supporters, both Democratic and Inde-

*(Continued on page 4)*

# Bandwagon

## No Wonder They Lost

"People who hate football helped Mississippi beat us," [Coach Jim] Tatum [of Maryland] said in his first touch of bitterness, long after the game [which ended Maryland's 19-game winning streak]. – *From the Washington* Star.

## Hollywood Record

"This one is for keeps," said [Mickey] Rooney. . . . "We did not run into marriage hastily. We waited long enough to make sure we were right for each other."

He said he met Miss Mahnken at a party two months ago. – *From the Raleigh* News and Observer.

## How's That Again?

"It is not my function to concur or disagree with any Administration proposals regarding the new budget," Mr. [Joseph] Dodge [Eisenhower's fiscal representative] said. "The fact that I do, or do not agree with them is not to be construed as approval or disapproval." – *From the Knickerbocker* News.

## Under Those Truman Democrats?

Thanks to the fact that the Republican candidate made a campaign issue of it, there has been a speed-up in the training of Republic of Korea troops and faster feeding of those divisions into combat. . . . This is possible only because of policy and training in effect for the past year. – *From the New York* World Telegram.

**Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.**

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New Republic



CONTENTS FOR DEC. 1, 1952


5 Eisenhower's Hard Choice in Korea An Editorial

6 New Leaders for Labor An Editorial

8 Needed: A Single Standard in Europe

9 Solid South: Cracked or Broken? by V. O. Key Jr.

12 Television—A New Campaign Weapon, by Paul Seabury

15 Point Four and the Battle for Asia, by Clarence Decker

17 Literature and the Arts:

17 J. T. Farrell, *Yet Other Waters*, by Malcolm Cowley

18 Mark Twain, *Report from Paradise*, by Isaac Rosenfeld

19 Stringfellow Barr, *Citizens of the World*, by Merle Miller

20 John Lehmann, *The Open Night*, by Kimon Friar

21 G. W. Johnson, *Pattern for Liberty*, by Adrienne Koch

21 B. Bell, Crowd Culture, by P. Dinkins

22 A. Brincourt, *Paradise Below the Stairs*, by D. Sutherland

22 The Poet in New York, by Eric Bentley

23 Broadway: Autumn 1952, by Eric Bentley



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## WASHINGTON WIRE

IT SEEMED natural, squatting there on the green carpet of the Commodore Hotel in New York. It was the sixth floor where Ike's headquarters were. Seventy people at least jammed the 12-foot wide passage—the corridor to the new White House. From the protective instinct of long habit, this correspondent slid down under the oil-derrick tripod of a movie camera. "It's like the Resolutions Committee at the Chicago convention — remember?" said another reporter down there.

We looked out at legs and feet. An earnest man down the aisle told the woman beside him she looked "like a woman of prayer" and explained that he had come to enlist Ike's help for a "Christian inspiration training school." The woman said she was looking for a job. Other reporters crouched beside us.

**The "up" and "down"** lights of the 10 elevators blinked and the red-coated elevator man at number two stopped and watched with arm up to hold back the sliding brass door. A rush of white, like birds, swooped down the glass mail chute recurrently. Joe Martin, the next House Speaker, got off and was instantly blocked. If it had been a year ago, the carpet would have been ankle-deep with spent flash-bulbs when he left, but technical progress has taken care of that—now cameramen strap batteries on themselves and use permanent bulbs. Things quieted for a moment; Taft was due in 15 minutes.

"Seems like old times!" repeated the reporter. Indeed it did. The transition turmoil was tapering off. You could tell it in the good-nature of the correspondents. Too much traveling on campaign trips sours people. One reporter morosely put it, "I've crossed the Great Divide so often I feel like a hem-stitching machine!" Cramped on a pounding Campaign Special, trying to hit portable typewriters on the up-beat, everybody gets to hate everybody else.

"Well, how was Augusta?" we asked.

The veterans chimed in with impressions. "Ike can't read, of course," said a man whose knees were all we could see. Others nodded understandingly. "Gets everything by ear. They leave an important paper on Ike's desk, and a day later his managers find he's not looked at it. He's been getting things by briefing for 40 years. What we're going to have at the White House now is a general staff system."

"Yes, and lots of commissions. All with the best brains," said another.

When we asked what kind of brains there would be, there was a snort. "You ought to see the Augusta National Golf Club—that would tell you a lot!" came one answer. "All millionaires—see? It's limited to 200 members. Ike fits right in there. He has a natural affinity for millionaires. Imagine little Harry Truman in a place like that." Everybody laughed at the image.

"He learns quick," interposed another defensively. "You got to admit he absorbs things. You wait; he may turn out a lot better than those speeches. You see, Ike just doesn't understand the legislative process. Yes—I think he believed everything he said in his speeches; yes, even the self-contradictory things. It was all so general, anyway. He was saying what the staff wrote out for him and, of course, supplying his own moral sermons, too. Augusta showed one thing. He's got Dewey men now salted up and down his staff. They're shifting from Dewey's payroll to his."

### "How about Taft?"

"That's what Bob's coming for today. He's just notifying Ike that he's going to take over Congress. Sure, there's bound to be a break there, but maybe not for a while. One thing Ike does understand—defense and foreign af-

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fairs. He's bound to be firm on them whatever the Taft Congress does."

It was good there, talking to the old gang again. The ministerial man down the way was telling about the efficacy of prayer. He had prayed in that Nixon incident, he said, and see how it had come out. As for the reporters, of course they all worked for Republican papers. They reported the ban on anything even hinting of criticism of Ike was even stronger now than during the campaign. It was "good-sportsmanship" and consisted of blocking realistic stories about Dulles, Stassen and other best brains. Everything had to be laudatory. It was good to have the tension removed, everybody agreed, and the honeymoon would not last.

"One thing the public doesn't understand yet," said a reporter, "is the sensation Mamie is going to be. Every week she gets younger. The country has no idea yet what's ahead of it there."

"Boy! Morningside Heights is changed," contributed a press association man. "Yeah, I was up there this morning; the Secret Service has moved in. Muscular young men rocking on their heels everywhere. Funny how they always put the biggest dick on the grandchildren. He's getting that harassed look already; he comes out of the airplane carrying a teddybear and a balloon."

"They're about the only thing Ike cares for," put in my friend. "That, and fishing and golf. Everybody begins by asking Ike his score which is a mistake. He tells them—shot by shot."

**Reporters groaned.** "Press conferences will be something," said one. "You reply." My friend spoke slowly. "Do you realize he's never faced a hostile press conference yet? Not a press conference during the campaign, and before that the TV cameras always present so you couldn't needle him."

"Aw, the papers will protect him!" said somebody. But a chorus denied this. "Wait till the honeymoon is over," they said. A minute later Taft stepped off the elevator, bland, paunchy and benvolent, and it was over.

*Washington* T.R.B.

## CORRESPONDENCE

*(Continued from page 2)*

pendent, seems a fine idea to keep the two-party system alive between elections. Perhaps the national Volunteers for Stevenson should assume the job if the Democratic National Committee doesn't seem interested. With someone to organize it, the support will, I'm sure, immediately come forward.

*Geneva, N.Y.* ROBERT L. LABELLE

● As you ask for the expression of other readers views at the close of Don Wilcox's letter, my husband and I would be glad to belong to an organization to keep Stevenson before the public.

It could be a $5 annual membership with a subscribing membership for those who can give more, just as the United World Federalists have it arranged.

*Minneapolis, Minn.* OLGA CURTIS-SHAW

[Here is a list of others who have written in expressing a desire to contribute to a fund to keep Stevenson on the air. If you would like your name added to the list write to us.—[THE EDITORS.]

O.R.D., New York City; S. E. Cowan, New York City; F. Choate, New York City; Dorothy Miller, Middletown, Conn.; A. Perry, Detroit, Mich.; Mrs. Mary E. Roberson, Idaho Falls, Idaho; Richard Badlian, Boston, Mass.; Jeanne Hicks, Syracuse, N.Y.; James J. Richards, Crown Pt., Indiana; Ada Dearnley, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; Fleming Lee Blitch, Gainesville, Fla.; Kenneth Ehlenbach, Wood, Wis.; Viola Walker, New York City; Mrs. F. L. McNabb, Brecksville, Ohio; W. B. Joy, Boise, Idaho; Janet B. Fine, Plainfield, N.J.; Joseph E. Bowman, Columbus, Ohio; Gertrude M. Garing, Aliquippa, Pa.; Lucille T. Mathews, Bronx, N.Y.; Joyce M. Flynn, Boston, Mass.; Margaret J. Hunter, Boston, Mass.; Marilyn R. Walker, Elmhurst, Ill.; Owen Miller, Milwaukee, Wis.; Seymour Applebaum, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Marguerite Kuhnmuench, Milwaukee, Wis.; S. Szold, Peoria, Ill.; June Greenleaf, Terre Haute, Ind.; Roger Galloway, Seattle, Wash.; Worthington Hollyday, Carmel, Calif.; Mrs. Mary K. Gilleo, Newhugh, N.Y.; Annie M. Carter, Mizpah, N.J.; Bertha Queen, Mt. Vernon, Ohio; Ruth Olson, Van Nuys, Calif.; Truman Richardson, Shawnee, Okla., Hans A. Illing, Los Angeles, Calif.; Mrs. Fred N. Kerwin, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Mrs. A. L. Voight, San Antonio, Tex.; Miss Eugenia Babcock, Grand Rapids, Mich.

### The Teachings of Christian Science

● Our attention has been called to an article in (*NR*, Oct. 10) entitled "Sigmund Freud" by W. H. Auden, which contains the following sentence: "Freud's formative years, that is, were a time when the great intellectual battle was between Science and the sort of bourgeois idealist manicheeism of which, in 1875, Mrs. Eddy became Popess."

This passing reference misrepresents Christian Science. Christian Science bears no relation whatsoever to manicheeism, zorastrian, dualism, or any other oriental system. Furthermore, it distorts the facts regarding the present-day Christian Science movement to convey the thought that Christian Science is found only among people of wealth and prestige, or among those of a bourgeois outlook. The facts are that Christian Science is a Christian religion, rooted and grounded in the teachings of the Bible, and its followers today include multitudes in every class and segment of society.

We do not wish to ask the author or the editors of *New Republic* to agree with the teachings of Christian Science, but we do feel that a magazine with the standing of the *New Republic* is interested in presenting to its readers the truth rather than a misrepresentation of anything that has the wide following and high standing of Christian Science.

*New York City* CLIFFORD C. JOHNSON

### Weizmann's Death

● For two days and two nights a silent line of people moved slowly through the President's home, paused for barely a moment at his coffin, then dispersed throughout the new nation he had helped to create to give them security and a country of their own.

For many of them, the brutal fact of Dr. Weizmann's death had been to some extent blunted by the knowledge of his desperate illness. Yet the shock was nonetheless great, for he had become more than a man; he had become a legend—a Moses who had collected his people from distant parts of a shattered world and founded a nation.

For several years Dr. Weizmann had remained aloof from the clamor of politics; the office of president here, as in France, is largely symbolic. Within a month the Knesset—Israel's Parliament—must choose his successor. But there is no one whose name and presence can have the same magic meaning to millions of Jews throughout the world. Many Jews have attained greatness, but Dr. Weizmann is alone as the great international personality who was truly and solely Jewish, who achieved greatness largely because he was Jewish. To his people his death seems to mark the end of an era.

*Rehovot, Israel* DAN SAMUEL

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New Republic

# EISENHOWER'S HARD CHOICE IN KOREA

TRAPPED between his rash commitments and his new responsibilities, Eisenhower faces three main courses of action in Korea: to seek a military decision; to let "Asians fight Asians" or to hold to present policies.

There are military leaders in Korea who will urge a military decision on their old comrade-in-arms. They will argue, that all other means of ending the war have failed and that a military offensive offers some chance of success.

**What chance?** The troops we face are entrenched in deep bunkers, and protected by tremendous firepower. They are able to inflict heavy casualties on any frontal assault, or any amphibious landing behind their lines. If we drive forward 60 miles in a limited offensive we will open the way to a new stalemate. If we set the Yalu River as our goal, we will be choosing to defend from now on a frontier four times as long as the 140 mile line we now hold. We will be pushing our troops within range of Communist planes based in Manchuria. As we widen the war, we will narrow our base of support in the United Nations.

If instead Eisenhower concludes that Asians should fight Asians the Republic of Korea must provide the troops. Her 11 trained divisions can provide leadership for others. Her 20 million people include a million men of military age. A shortage of weapons has been a major obstacle; that shortage now is largely overcome. Against these gains, the Republic has lost 40,000 recorded dead, 130,000 known wounded, a number of men missing in action that our government will not even attempt to estimate. The hope that in months, the Republic of Korea Army can be doubled in size to replace our seven divisions in the front line, is utterly forlorn. And if the Korean divisions were doubled they would still be without air support.

To insist, as Rep. Joseph Martin has insisted, that US soldiers be replaced by Nationalist Chinese troops is forlorn—and also dangerous. If he were willing (and he is not willing) to weaken the defenses of Formosa, and risk the desertion of his troops, Chiang Kai-shek could provide 50,000 men. They would be naked bodies, that the US would have to clothe and equip, transport and feed, support with artillery and protect with air cover. They would be ready four months sooner than untrained Korean civilians. In return we would destroy what chances remain for a truce in Korea. For, by making Korea the battlefield for the continuation of the Chinese civil war, we would force the Chinese Communists into a struggle that can end only in the transfer of power at Peking or Taipeh.

The third course of action for Eisenhower is to hold to the Administration's basic policies and wait for peace. We may wait a long time, if events at the United Nations are a guide.

There, widespread support has developed for an Indian resolution that proposed, in effect, to postpone the repatriation issue until the cease-fire was achieved. In this it was misconceived, for if military pressure could not induce the Communists to relinquish their claim to all Chinese and North Korean prisoners, then the absence of pressure would certainly not bring about their retreat.

In theory the Indian resolution recognized the right of prisoners to refuse forcible repatriation. In practice it offered them the alternatives of repatriation or imprisonment, perhaps for life. It offered no workable means for resolving the repatriation issue, and no time limit by which it should be resolved. So the Indian resolution offered a victory in practice to the Communists. It offered the greater political prospect of defeating and isolating the United States in the UN. The consequences of this development are beyond contemplation. Yet the Soviet leaders denounced the Indian resolution in the most violent terms.

One day, if our lines hold, the Russians may declare, as in Berlin, that there is nothing to argue about in our proposals; or else, the fighting will slowly die out, indicating that while both sides have a common interest in a cease-fire, the interest is not one that can be defined. Far away, and in an unrelated manner, 7,000 US prisoners of war will find a back alley opened out of the Communist world.

There is nothing dramatic or noble in the act of waiting. Few leaders in the Republican Party will find that course acceptable. It may be that insight or good fortune will provide Eisenhower some better way. We hope so. If Eisenhower finds no other honorable course and keeps his honor, thousands who voted for him will feel they have been betrayed. In paying the penalty for ambition, he will need support.

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# NEW LEADERS FOR LABOR

IT WOULD BE difficult to overstate the importance of the decisions the CIO and the AFL must now make in choosing successors to Philip Murray and William Green. In the long run, these decisions may be as important to the American people as was their recent decision in the Presidential election, for the choices of the CIO and the AFL will ultimately affect every important aspect of our national life—with the future of labor-management relations, with the stability and growth of the American economy and with our leadership in world affairs.

**What is the job** that the new leaders must fill? Looking back, it is plain that the role of labor's top leadership has been changing for years. Phil Murray and William Green, along with John L. Lewis, rose from the ranks of organized labor in an era very different from that of today. Theirs was essentially a struggle for union recognition and the right to collective bargaining; for the establishment of tolerable wages, hours and working conditions; for the beginnings of social security. In principle, and to a great extent in fact, that fight has been won. For some years organized labor has increasingly stressed newer objectives of labor welfare, chiefly in terms of improved security, health, education and housing. It has also realized that gains won at the bargaining table could be lost through increased taxes bearing on lower incomes, and through higher prices, and has actively sought to protect the workers' interests on these fronts as well. Today, this transitional period is virtually at an end. Ahead is a new era which calls, in addition to these older objectives, for a far deeper insight into the structure and operation of the American economy.

The problems of organized labor in America have become national, even international, in scope. The basic and long-term problem is no longer how much of its profit an individual firm or industry can be forced to yield to augment its workers' wages; it is, rather, how the American economy can achieve continued stability, growth and prosperity so that workers can be protected against recurring large-scale unemployment and so that they can share progressively in the general prosperity of the country. Serious consideration must be given to questions of tax, budget and fiscal policy; to tariff, trade and balance of payments questions; to problems of incentives, savings and investments; to questions of foreign aid and of emergency controls in the fields of production, price and wage controls. Here is a new lexicon unfamiliar to the trade unionist of an earlier day. Yet a broad understanding of these concepts in relation to policy is an indispensable part of the equipment of labor's top leadership in the future.

Perhaps the most important job of labor statesmanship in the period immediately ahead lies in the formulation of a national wage-price-profit policy. Postwar emergency-defense activity, and its resulting full employment, have tended to obscure the very real dangers of substantially reduced economic activity and substantially increased unemployment which might follow a sharp curtailment in defense spending. The relationship between wages, prices and profits will be the key to sustained full employment when the peak of the defense program has passed. Organized labor cannot formulate and introduce a national wage-price-profit policy alone, but it can provide the leadership in calling for a joint effort by labor, management and government to study this all-important question and to arrive at a truly national policy.

Along with new insights and new policies, the labor leadership of tomorrow must display a far greater flexibility with respect to new techniques in collective bargaining and other forms of labor-management relations. It should examine more closely the very real possibilities which inhere in profit-sharing, in the guaranteed annual wage, and in labor-management co-operation inside the plant. More important, something must be achieved by way of labor-management relations which will permit the *dignity* of the workingman to grow and find expression on the job, in a constructive rather than an aggressive way. The leadership of labor must be sensitive to the psychology as well as to the economics of work.

The position of organized labor in the US today is not as strong or as influential as its friends wish it to be. For in recent years labor's statesmanship has fallen somewhat short of meeting the emerging challenge of the times. Many potential friends have been disturbed or even alienated by some of its policies and practices, or by some of the things organized labor has failed to do.

Today, for the first time in modern history, organized labor faces an unfriendly administration—in Congress, if not in the White House. Industry-wide bargaining, and industry-wide strikes in basic industries, are among the practices which may be challenged. Will organized labor be able to dig in and hold its ground? In the absence of a new vision, a new statesmanship, labor may lose some of its hard-won gains. With a new vision, a new statesmanship, it could break new ground.

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# THE EISENHOWER CABINET

*FOR 20 YEARS, great industry has been fighting to regain the political dominance it lost during the depression. Its victory is now complete. Eisenhower's cabinet is lacking in popular support, and weak in the general ability and experience that make a good cabinet possible. But the men Eisenhower has chosen answer to great industry, and in return will get its ardent and powerful support.*

*John Foster Dulles* is the top cartel and corporation lawyer in the United States. He is a brilliant advocate and a trained diplomat. He is a poor politician and one who allowed political advantage to enter his views on the national interest. His role as chief Republican kibitzer conformed with his critical nature. His worst endeavor was the foreign-affairs plank of the 1952 Republican platform. There, and in subsequent speeches and articles, he earned a reputation which led a British diplomat to remark, "We will want everything in writing and notarized from now on."

Dulles set out to be both bipartisan and regular; internationalist, and acceptable to Taft and the isolationists. Taft approved his appointment. His challenge now is to re-establish his lost reputation. Dewey as Secretary would have defended the State Department against McCarthy's raids; will Dulles? Department officials doubt his ability to accept the responsibility for rough problems and unpopular decisions that mark a strong Secretary of State.

*Charles E. Wilson* represents Eisenhower's naïve conviction that big businessmen should run big government because big government and big business are, or should be, the same kind of enterprise. They are, of course, entirely different. Apart from the morality of placing the government's defense program under a man whose corporation holds $3 billion in defense contracts, the record of big businessmen such as William F. Knudsen and General Electric Wilson is proof that big government and big business do not mix.

Wilson, like Knudsen, is a first-class engineer, trained in arranging assembly lines and cutting costs. Like Knudsen, he will prove unable to crack down when materials are scarce and defense contracts are taken for duty rather than profit.

His plans for long-range contracts between the Defense Department and the manufacturers will further increase the concentration of monopoly power. And in the duties of Defense Secretary other than production (the problems of which are substantially solved by now) Wilson's own speeches show him to be reactionary and naïve. This man who will be working with labor and all our allies condemns the union shop and describes Communists as Socialists "in a hurry."

*George Humphrey*, picked as Secretary of the Treasury, is head of the Mark A. Hanna Company, the biggest coal and iron-ore empire in the world. He is also president or director of the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company, the National Steel Corporation, the Industrial Rayon Corporation, the Iron Ore Company of Canada, the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, the National City Bank of Cleveland, the Canada and Dominion Sugar Company, and some 20 other corporations listed under his name in Poore's Directory. Eisenhower is not taking government out of business, he is giving government to business. Working with Senator Millikin, he seems certain to replace our progressive tax structure with the sales tax and other repressive measures.

*Douglas McKay*, whom Eisenhower picked to administer our national resources as Secretary of Interior, is a conservative, business-minded Western Governor. During bitter Oregon inter-agency battles over the development of the Columbia River watershed, McKay has been regarded as a partisan of the Army Engineers, who have been engaged in a series of jurisdictional controversies with many Interior bureaus now to be under McKay's sovereignty. A former Chevrolet dealer, McKay was sharply criticized for not participating in a recent referendum fight in the state over an effort by big interstate truckers to eliminate the state's weight-distance tax on commercial highway vehicles. He was accused of favoring the truckers, who were defeated in a vote totalling about 4,000 more than given Eisenhower at the polls.

Sen. Wayne Morse has taunted McKay because the Governor urged him not to vote in the Senate for retaining federal title to off-shore oil reserves. Under McKay, the Oregon attorney-general's office has participated in a nation-wide effort by many states to bring about an end to control by the national government of tidal petroleum deposits. As Interior Secretary, McKay could be expected to continue this attitude. Political observers believe that McKay plans to step from his Interior post to the Senate by defeating Wayne Morse in 1956.

*Harold Stassen* alone of the new cabinet has held a political following in his own right. However, what following he built up he largely lost by his repeated compromises with his stated principles. He holds the job created by a fighting internationalist, Paul Hoffman. In contrast, Stassen insisted in May, 1952, that foreign aid should not be excessive and that it should be used to control the domestic policies of recipient governments.

Stassen has an unhappy job. He takes on a position built up by Hoffman's ability and Congressional hatred of Secretary Acheson. He must help to dismantle such overseas em-

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pires as the 1,200-man bureau established by William Draper in Europe. He must accede to whatever reorganization plans Dulles and Eisenhower prepare to subordinate the Mutual Security Agency to the Department of State. He must struggle for appropriations in a hostile and economy-minded Congress. Like the program he heads, his future in the cabinet is entirely unclear.

*Herbert Brownell*, typical product of a Wall Street law factory, is of proven competence in his own profession. In the Dewey tradition, Brownell is characterized by long-time associates as not illiberal to the point of reaction. His appointment is at once a reward to the Dewey group, by far the most competent part of the Eisenhower team in the campaign, and a provision for capable political advice within the cabinet itself.

While there is no reason to believe that Brownell as Attorney-General would bring any great enthusiasm or drive to the prosecution of anti-trust cases, it is to be expected that he would conduct an orderly and honest administration of the Justice Department. Brownell, a one-time Chairman of the Republican National Committee, will almost surely urge the General to drive toward making the GOP over into an Eisenhower Party. Eisenhower appears to be stuck with Chairman Arthur Summerfield and the ancient reactionaries who surround him. It seems likely that one of Brownell's major jobs will be to keep score on the Summerfield group and advise the General as to when he can tighten his reins of party control without causing a stampede of the Old Guard.

Senator Taft, reportedly miffed because his list of cabinet suggestions was almost totally passed over, has plans for assuring his own representation in the Eisenhower cabinet. Taft is said to have determined to assume the Senate Majority Leadership himself and then to win Eisenhower's approval for Taft to participate in cabinet decisions. Considering the fact that the 83rd Congress is already dubbed the "Taft Congress," the General may conclude that it is expedient to give the Senator what he wants.

## NEEDED: A SINGLE STANDARD IN EUROPE

THE KEY to the immediate European problem the new US President will have to study before he takes office is the difference between two kinds of balance of power. Obviously Western Europe must be brought into some sort of co-operative unity as part of the Western weight of a world balance of power. But such an alliance will be a strong and safe part *of* the Atlantic Community only if US policy can foster a balance of power *within* Western Europe which will have the trust and support of the peoples themselves. That means, of course, a balance between German dynamism and French caution making the combination strong in military power yet safe in political ideas and conduct.

Both the West German Left and the French Right want revisions—quite different in kind and contradictory in aim—before they will support ratification of the European Defense Community Treaty. Their demands might not threaten the Western European edifice if the West German Right had more restraint and the French Left less self-pity. And if it is true that the key to Korea lies in Moscow, it is equally true that the difficulties in the Bonn and Paris parliaments stem from justifications Washington policy has given German arrogance and French grovelling.

**To judge** from French President Auriol's speech at the inauguration of the great new Rhone dam and the wave of approval it received, one might think the US was responsible for most of France's woes—in Germany, the Saar, Indo-China and North Africa. But France's burden is an accumulation of its own past errors. Errors still being made.

One might also believe Auriol was speaking for the whole French people. Actually he was converting the French Left's self-pity into a prop for the Pinay Government which, though Atlanticist in aim, is using anti-Americanism on behalf of the nationalist French Right.

But if US policy is not entirely, or even primarily, to blame for France's troubles, it has certainly worsened the situation for the present or any other viable French Government by giving a strong impression of unfairness concerning the balance between Germany and France. When Auriol said that Germany benefits from "every solicitous attention" and gets "more attention," he was referring to a continuum of US errors. The worst of these is to have thought *only* of the world balance of power, hence to have given a green light to Germany's rise to power *within* Europe while protesting France's retention of strength on the world scene.

The original French formula for uniting Europe—the Schuman and Pleven Plans—was designed to put both French and German nationalism in an international framework. The serious difficulty now is that the French question US definitions—in practice—of that internationalism. When the US voted against France in the UN on the Tunisian question, the New York *Times* explained that the US was "anxious to favor the true national aspirations of all subject peoples . . . a morally sound principle."

The French do not find it morally sound for the US to favor at the same time what Maurice Schumann has called "the integration of Europe and the Balkanization of Africa." If the US votes against French nationalism in Africa, they want proof that the same policy applies against German nationalism in Europe. For there are signs that US policy has unleashed the kind of German nationalism that may wreck true European internationalism and make the French a subject people.

Perhaps it is too much to expect US policy to be able to restrain German arrogance. Still, if—as is the case—France *and* Germany must both make Europe, Washington might at least stop encouraging German dynamism while at the same time invoking high principle and morality to justify increasing the drains on French strength, pride and patience.

*Rome* PERCY WINNER

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# SOLID SOUTH: CRACKED OR BROKEN

by V. O. Key Jr.

THE WAY has been cleared for a reconstruction of political parties in the South. When that reorganization will occur and the shape it will take can now be only dimly perceived, but both factors will have more than regional importance. They will ultimately determine realignment of the national Democratic and Republican parties.

This year Eisenhower's professional Democratic support came from factional leaders most in harmony with orthodox Republicanism. Governor Stevenson's backers were chiefly from among leaders of factions in accord with national Democratic tendencies. Such aspects of the immediate situation are clear enough. It is equally clear that no firmly based new Republican Party has been established in any Southern state. But a huge Republican vote has been polled, and the cleavages within the Democratic Party in the South have deepened.

## I

A prime error to avoid is to suppose that it is fruitful to talk about the South as a whole. True, certain factors were operative in the election over the entire South. All the South was affected, as it had been in the immediately preceding elections, by the growth of groups and classes with an affinity for Republicanism. Beyond such common elements, appraisal of the new political situation must rest on the condition of affairs in the several states. For one group of states, those that have long had a Republican minority of sorts, the significance of the election can be assessed with some confidence. In Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, Republicans have regularly polled fairly respectable votes. They have not often seriously threatened Democratic hegemony in statewide affairs, but they have consistently won county and district offices in some areas.

Such clans of professional politicians bearing the Republican label and aspiring to local and state office put the Democratic leadership under compulsions absent elsewhere in the South. In none of these states did Democratic officeholders desert publicly *en masse* to Eisenhower. Most Democratic professionals supported Stevenson, although with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The Democratic tradition plus the efforts of the Democratic leadership kept the Republican vote down to a few points more than the combined Republican and States' Rights vote of 1948. The comparative figures make the picture clear:

| | 1948 Republican plus State's Rights | 1952 Republican | Net Shift |
|---|---|---|---|
| United States | 47.5% | 55.4% | +7.9 |
| Kentucky | 42.8 | 49.9 | +7.1 |
| North Carolina | 41.5 | 45.9 | +4.4 |
| Tennessee | 50.3 | 50.2 | —0.1 |
| Virginia | 51.4 | 56.3 | +4.9 |

The basic explanation for the relatively small shift is simple. Southern Democratic politicians whose own careers may be cut short by a Republican tide usually regard open support of the head of the Republican ticket as a dispensable luxury. The predicament of Sen. Harry Byrd illustrates the proposition. Although Governor Battle and other state leaders endorsed Stevenson, the Senator's distinct coolness toward the national ticket probably contributed to the defeat of three Virginia Democratic House candidates. The leader of a state organization cannot long maintain a position that defeats his own candidates.

In short, in these states the Democrats lost or won a battle, not a war. Undoubtedly there was some more or less durable realignment within the electorate, with a net accretion to the Republicans. Their improved competitive position ought to put Democratic organizations on their mettle lest they lose in state and local position.

## II

The difficulty comes in estimating the effects on the party system of the spurt in the Republican vote in those states whose Democratic politicians, untouched by Republican competition locally, were free to support or to bolt the national ticket.

Consider the states that had gone for the States' Rights candidates in 1948. It is not astonishing that they gave Eisenhower a heavy vote. What is astonishing is that it was not larger. His position on the race question, of deep concern to these states, should have been far more enchanting than was that of Governor Stevenson. Because of the appropriation of the Democratic position on the ballot by the States' Righters in 1948, comparisons between 1948 and 1952 for these states are especially misleading. Yet in none of them was the General able to equal the combined Republican and States' Rights percentage of the vote in 1948. The figures for the 1948 Dixiecratic states, plus Georgia, are as follows:

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| | 1948 Republican plus State's Rights | 1952 Republican | Net Shift |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 98.7% | 35.2% | —63.5 |
| Georgia | 38.6 | 31.1 | — 7.5 |
| Louisiana | 66.6 | 47.3 | —19.3 |
| Mississippi | 89.8 | 40.1 | —49.7 |
| South Carolina | 75.8 | 48.3 | —27.5 |

The significant factor in these states may turn out to be, not so much that the Republicans drew a big vote, but that the loyalist Democratic state leaders were able to hold their states even against the charisma of the General. This could mean that they might also be able to carry their states out of the Democratic Party, but for the long pull another interpretation may have more validity. Those factional leaders who have stood up and been counted in this crucial campaign may be so thoroughly committed that there is no turning back. Certainly, they will not lightly surrender whatever advantage there may be in taunting their 1952 opponents in subsequent state and local primary battles with epithets of bolter and traitor.

It is hazardous to group Southern Democratic factions along ideological lines, but in at least some of the 1948 Dixiecrat states the day was carried by those factions which by tradition and outlook are most disposed to collaborate on policy with the Northern wing of the party. In Louisiana, Sen. Russell Long and former Gov. Earl Long led the fight for Stevenson, while Gov. Robert F. Kennon, current leader of the conservative Democratic faction, threw his strength to the General. In South Carolina, Gov. James F. Byrnes and some of the low-country leaders lined up with the General, while Sen. Olin D. Johnston, an up-country leader strong in the textile centers, stood by the party. In Alabama, Sen. Lister Hill and John Sparkman had defeated the conservatives in a battle for control of the state committee in the spring. In Mississippi, Gov. Hugh White talked much less like a Republican than did the prominent conservative Democrats who supported General Eisenhower.

All this may mean that a step has been taken toward restoration of the Democratic Party in these states to its Jacksonian purity. Before hailing the purification of the party, it is well to pause. Although the loyalists won, they do not invariably control their state governments or their state Democratic Party machinery. The deserters claim to remain in good standing as Democrats. Intense factional battles are ahead in these states for control of the Democratic label, for control of Democratic electors, and for control of state governments. The deserters have not been purged, although when they next run for Democratic nominations, the voters will be reminded of their apostasy. The question of sanctions by national party authorities will doubtless be raised. If Governor Kennon, for example, should seek admission to the 1956 Democratic National Convention, loyalist Southerners could probably be relied on to propose his ejection with a minimum of due process of law.

It seems most unlikely that in the short-run many of the bolting conservative Democratic professionals will transform themselves into a Republican leadership corps in these states. A body of voters favorably disposed toward the Republican label will be a standing invitation to men of political ambition. Yet it would be cause for genuine astonishment if many county courthouses and city halls were soon captured by Republicans. A party needs a substantial body of men tied to it by career interests and ambitions. That will develop, but in these states it will probably be much later rather than sooner. And it is in these states with their high proportions of Negro population that the race question will have the greatest significance in molding whatever kind of party alignment eventually emerges.

III

To be sharply differentiated from the states of the Deep South are Florida and Texas. These states are most ripe for exploitation by the Republicans. The clearest opportunity exists—whether it will be utilized is another question—to separate out neatly the conservative Democrats and Republicans. Democratic strength has been on the decline in recent Presidential elections. Both states have undergone a prodigious economic development. In both an enormous influx of population, an extremely fluid social structure, and the political activation of new and anxiety-ridden wealth have functioned as solvents of traditional attachment to the democracy.

In Texas, the leaders of the conservative Democratic faction, Gov. Allan Shivers and Sen.-elect Price Daniel, carried the battle for Eisenhower, while Speaker Sam Rayburn pieced together the remnants of the party to fight for Stevenson. The conservative Democrats managed an impressive shift of the vote to the Republicans. The figures for Texas and Florida (and Arkansas, to complete the record) were:

| | 1948 Republican plus State's Rights | 1952 Republican | Net Shift |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arkansas | 37.5% | 44.4% | + 6.9 |
| Florida | 49.1 | 54.7 | + 5.6 |
| Texas | 33.4 | 53.5 | +19.9 |

While the charge that the General bought the electoral vote of Texas with offshore oil is not quite fair, the narrowness of his margin makes it possible that the tidelands issue turned the trick. His local boosters could

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advocate Republican doctrine with an impelling local incidence.

A substantial Republican Presidential vote can be polled without much of a state organization, but to build a lasting Republican Party it is essential to recruit a leadership corps to compete for state and local office, to maintain voter interest in the party, and to man the organization from the ground up. It would be a most novel arrangement for the Republicans to depend regularly on renegade Democrats and inspired amateurs to fight the Presidential battle for them. The quandaries in which all groups find themselves in Texas illustrates in bold form the short-run problems in building a Republican Party elsewhere in the South. Some of those quandaries, or at least alternatives, are:

For the conservative Democratic professional politicians: What is to be gained by becoming outright Republicans? What would be, for example, the prospects of Price Daniel for victory in 1958 as a Republican candidate for the Senate? Would Governor Shivers care to run for re-election on the Republican ticket in 1954? The Democratic pros, in fact, prepared in advance a route of retreat. A state convention resolution instructing party officials to work for Eisenhower was designed to keep the Governor and his associates in good standing in the Democratic lodge.

For the Republican hierarchy, such as it is: Should a concerted effort be made to enlist the Democratic professionals? Should the fruits of victory be shared with them? Is it preferable to follow the longer road of developing and recruiting party timber from outside the ranks of the Democratic professionals?

For the classes and groups supporting conservative Democrats in state affairs and Republicans Presidentially: What, if anything, is to be gained by building a Republican Party so long as they can control both parties?

**The loyalist Democrats** will have warm opposition in the primaries from conservative Democrats when they seek renomination. They will almost certainly have to fight again to maintain the right of the Democratic Presidential candidate to the Democratic position on the ballot. They will be unable to draw much help from the national party in the short-run. If the bolters have the effrontery to turn up at the next national convention, a prolonged discussion of their right to sit would be an unseemly regard for parliamentary etiquette.

In time the Democrats and Republicans in both Texas and Florida will be sorted out, each with their own organization aligned with the national party. The path to that point may be both tortuous and long. One possible intermediate step is a fraud on the electorate on the order of the California cross-filing system under which the true colors of candidates are not always readily discernible. Another possibility is the development of state parties whose leaders from time to time maintain the studied objectivity toward national leadership characteristic of such men as Senator Langer of North Dakota or Governor Lausche of Ohio.

## IV

The picture that emerges so soon after the election is hazy, but perhaps a few general observations will stand up unless it turns out that we are living in an era of party reconstruction on the order of that of the 1850s.

1. Some of the Eisenhower support has deep roots in the new economics of the South. It furnishes the Republican Party with a far firmer foundation on which to build a competing party than did the 1928 Hoover vote.

2. Whether the Republicans on the ground will vigorously push ahead to capitalize on their new-found respectability is anybody's guess. Although a few of the new Republican leaders have aspirations to form a party with its roots in statehouses and county courthouses, on the whole a considerable infusion of new leadership is needed to give the party vitality. Undoubtedly the 1952 upheaval spewed up from the ranks of the politically inactive many persons who will provide some of that infusion.

3. A mass stampede of bolting Democratic leaders to Republicanism would be most extraordinary. We may be on the verge of a party fission like that which created the old Whigs in revolt against "King Andrew," but there have been no reports of a vast reservoir of politically experienced persons with an abiding itch to run for office on the Republican ticket.

4. For the Democratic Party it is difficult to see that the election has fundamentally altered the problem of maintenance of national unity. It may have, in fact, simplified matters by separating out to some extent the Republican-Democrats and the moderates in the South. The boost in Republican competitive potential may strengthen the ties of some Democrats to the national party.

5. In future elections the South will be contested territory in Presidential campaigns, no matter what lag occurs in the development of Republican state organizations or in neatly segregating Republican-Democrats from Democratic-Democrats. One needs to ask what the election of 1952 will look like with the advantage of 20 years' hindsight. If it turns out to have been a major step in the creation of a competitive politics in the South, it will be regarded as an event of the most profound significance for our national politics. To concur in that judgment it is only necessary to try to imagine what our national politics would be like, either from a Democratic or a Republican viewpoint, without a solid South.

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# TELEVISION—A NEW CAMPAIGN WEAPON

by Paul Seabury

NOW THAT Howdie Doodie, Rootie Kazootie and Captain Video—those non-partisan servants of the public weal—have reasserted their rightful claim to their deserved Neilson ratings on TV, there is time before the next election to weigh the words of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey that "television and radio are the most effective means of campaigning."

This statement, like any other premature attempt to assess factors in this, the first Republican Presidential victory since 1928, leads us to inquire about the role which these two media of mass communication did play in the election of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. Were radio and television "impartial" in the campaign?

We must await definitive expenditure statistics from the Senate Elections Subcommittee, and other sources. But there is little doubt that the multi-million dollar campaign was the most intensive and expensive in American history. And in the distribution of the air waves between the General and the Governor—Stevenson came off second best.

This was probably to be expected. Television costs money, and the big networks—Columbia, NBC, Mutual and Dumont—are not in business for the common weal of the two-party system. The economics of this industry, not partisan preference, were decisive in determining the relative ratio of air time distributed between the two candidates and their proponents.

A United Press dispatch from Washington on November 4 quoted Sen. Paul Douglas in estimating that the Republican and Democratic parties—on federal, state and local levels—together incurred expenses this year of about $75 million. Of this amount, the dispatch added, "considerably more than $3 million was spent by both upon the purchase of radio and television time."

**This latter estimate** is likely to fall far short of the final mark. Sidney Shalit, in the New York *Daily News* of November 5, has estimated that the Eisenhower "spot blitz" on radio and television ["my Mamie gets awful mad about high taxes, too!"], which blanketed the air over 50-odd counties in 12 states for 10 days before the election, *alone* cost more than $1 million and was originally underwritten for $2 million. The hour-and-a-half election eve GOP rally of November 3 (the program sadly caricatured by Vice-President Barkley as the "two slices of stale bread" surrounding that one-half hour slice of good "Democratic meat") was placed on all coast-to-coast major networks at a cost of probably more than $200,000. The Democrats refrained from retaliating in kind for the barrage of "Ike" spot commercials on Korea, Communism and Corruption, not from considerations of taste or lack of prior preparation, but from last minute fiscal decrepitude. Democratic spot recordings still lie untouched in a downtown New York advertising office.

***Advertising Age,*** the adman's bible, states without reservation in the November 10 issue that saturation of radio and TV spots seems to have paid off for the GOP. Eisenhower won in 39 of the 40 states in which the Republicans concentrated on spot announcements to be seen or heard by the voters. A "highly placed" Republican gave *Advertising Age* the following how-to-win-a-campaign summary:

1. The Republicans spent between $1.3 and $1.5 million on the spot drive.
2. Two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was spent in New York City alone on "the biggest saturation of all time"—with Ike spots going at the rate of perhaps 120 a day.
3. "Saturation" campaigns of unusual intensity were staged in 11 states: New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Maryland, Indiana, California, Pennsylvania, Texas and Connecticut. Eisenhower carried them all.
4. "Heavy" spot schedules were run in the Southern states of Florida, Virginia and Texas—all of which were won by Ike.

Voters resident on the Eastern seaboard—particularly in New York City—were treated to the most violent saturation bombing by campaign oratory. Governor Dewey, at a disc jockey post from 6 a.m. until 10 a.m. on election eve, conducted a telethon to educate the public in the mysteries of a straight Republican ticket, and to convince New Yorkers that "we deserve more than a prosperity based on the broken bodies of young Americans." Democrats could escape from this by viewing a United Labor program that evening. And both the Governor and the General were amply covered by television and radio in their respective appearances in New York in the eight weeks before November 4. And in the eight-day October 27—November 3 period, the Democratic Party and its affiliates bought 13.5 evening television hours to the Republicans' 19, to lag not far behind the GOP; in radio time, the Democrats had 14 hours to the Republicans' 18 on seven major New York stations in the final week, exclusive of spot commercials.

The New York ratio, however, was not typical coverage. What was true of New York City was apparently not true of many parts of the interior. In Minneapolis,

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Minn., for example, during this same period, Eisenhower forces purchased more than twice as much evening radio time as the Democrats (14.5 hours to 6.5 hours), and almost twice as much evening television time (five and a quarter to three hours). In Dallas, Texas, (a bellweather of Stevenson's fortunes in the South) the ratio was equally unfavorable to the unregenerate Democrats, Stevenson, Connally and Rayburn (14 to seven-and-a-half radio hours; 12 to five-and-three-fourths TV hours).

In Chicago, *Advertising Age* reports, the broadcasting industry received a real "bonanza." The Eisenhower forces "were spending $8,000 for time on one radio station as compared to $900 by the Democrats. On one Chicago TV outlet the GOP spent $25,000. Another TV station got $27,000, most of it for Ike." Volunteers for Stevenson reported that their whole Illinois budget came to $10,000, according to the magazine.

If these cities, chosen at random, are typical of how the two great political parties fared on the publicly owned airwaves of the Midwest and South, the Republicans were able to purchase twice as much air time as were the Democrats in this recent campaign.

But the potency of television as a political medium cannot be measured just by total air time purchased by political parties. At best, both television and radio merely furnish facilities for communication, not a captive audience, and it is wise to recall that Neilson TV audience-ratings of the Republican and Democratic conventions this summer showed both of them far less "popular" than the show, *I Love Lucy*.

**Governor Stevenson's** inflation speech at Baltimore on September 23—televised by CBS in 48 "station areas" throughout the country—had to compete, not with the Governor's GOP opponent, but with NBC's *Original Amateur Hour*. From all reports (if the Neilson Survey is correct) he reached only an estimated 45.8 percent of all sets then in use. On September 25, General Eisenhower, speaking over Dumont, encountered similar buyer resistance: while his address was carried in 62 "station areas," it reached only 40.9 percent of activated TV sets; the other 59.1 percent, presumably, were turned chiefly to *Mister Peepers* (NBC) and CBS' *Big Town*. This congenital unwillingness of most of the listening public to forego habitual spectator habits, even in a political campaign, is a problem which neither Republican nor Democratic admen have been able to solve.

It is, indeed, quite possible that, despite the preponderance of Republican purchased time on the American airwaves, Governor Stevenson benefited far more from this new medium, television, than did his Republican rival. The General himself was exhibited to the public primarily via the traditional whistle-stop tour and the press. He traveled an estimated 18,000 more miles cross-continent than did Stevenson. His candidacy was espoused by about 81 percent of the nation's daily newspaper circulation, and his praises were sung by an equally partisan group of nationally circulated magazines.

Stevenson, however, traveled—and was "sold"—chiefly by air. Soon after the beginning of the campaign, he and his managers decided that the Governor could better and more quickly be introduced to the American public on the air waves than on the exhausting whistle-stop route.

**Even after his defeat,** Stevenson's managers seem not to question the wisdom of this choice. Wilson Wyatt, in an interview published in *US News and World Report* (Nov. 14) went so far as to say that "had it not been for television there would have been one, two, three or four million votes fewer for Adlai Stevenson." For one thing—a curious quirk of the medium—the Governor proved far more "telegenic" than his rival; and for another, his speeches were far better composed and delivered. Within four months a man unknown to the American public became, largely by virtue of television, a celebrity in his own land. (The same, incidentally, could have been said of Sen. Richard Nixon and of his dog Checkers.)

Without a careful examination of the transcripts of radio commentators and a measured review of the news films used during television news broadcasts, one cannot begin to analyze bias, or fairness, in this important part of the air waves. There were complaints by many Democrats that the business-sponsored newsreels were trained for many more minutes on Eisenhower than on Stevenson during news roundups of the campaign. And that radio commentators, such as Walter Winchell, possibly violated FCC regulations by giving free advertising to the Republicans with his outright endorsement of General Eisenhower. Winchell's unprecedented Sunday night act over ABC brought an immediate charge by Democratic National Committee Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell that "Winchell's radio and TV broadcasts . . . cannot by any conceivable stretch of the imagination be classified as news reporting or commentary. . . . This was nothing more nor less than a partisan political speech for Eisenhower which was broadcast without cost to the Republican Party. Accordingly, pursuant to Section 315 of the Communications Act, we demand equivalent and comparable time . . . without cost to the Democratic Party."

ABC did not believe the law required ABC to give the Democrats equal time, and did nothing. The matter is now in the hands of the Federal Communications Commission.

There is little doubt that television—the new and revolutionary medium of American politics—contributed to the unusually heavy turnout of normally non-voting cit-

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izens; it may, as has been charged, have brought irrelevant personal and emotional elements of the campaign —*e.g.*, the Nixon soliloquy—much closer to the hearts of American voters than the rational political scientist would have desired. But heavy turnouts and irrational appeals to the citizenry are not novel in American politics. Like all other media of mass communication, television is ambivalent. Turned to a high moral and educative purpose, we have seen that it can uplift; turned to sordid expediency, sloganeering and manipulation, it can do great damage to our political processes.

**The public's embrace** of Richard Nixon after his nationwide TV appearance is indicative of advertising technique effectiveness. James A. Kearns Jr., who went behind the scenes to report the show for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, came up with some interesting facts. The man who rehearsed Nixon and actually produced the show was Edward A. Rogers, on leave from a large Hollywood advertising agency and former production supervisor of *The Lone Ranger*, *Beulah* and *Mystery Theatre*. As Nixon's paid, full-time television expert, Rogers worked with representatives from two New York advertising agencies (BBD&O and Knudner) who flew to Hollywood in the crisis, and these high-powered admen whipped Nixon's script into shape. By the time Nixon arrived they were ready to work on him. Kearns reports:

> The TV experts had him sit at the table, then stand next to it, and then do the same thing again and again. Under their deft prompting, the candidate practiced posing with his right hand on the table, then with his left hand in a trouser pocket. . . . Mrs. Pat Nixon, nervously clasping a handkerchief, was carefully coached to keep a relaxed pose in her chair, her head turned at a certain angle, her face arched in a close-mouthed smile. The dress rehearsal, with the star going doggedly through the directed motions, continued almost to the moment of curtain time. In the last minute, the coaches ducked behind an off-stage screen.

Here is a partial list, according to Kearns, of Nixon's carefully calculated appeals to the same sentiments ad writers depend upon to yield their profits:

> Love of Pets: "The kids . . . loved the dog, and . . . regardless of what they say about it, we are going to keep it."
>
> Mother Love: "My mother and dad had five boys and we all worked in the [grocery] store."
>
> Horatio Alger: "I don't happen to be a rich man. . . . We had a rather difficult time after we were married. . . ."
>
> Dishpan Hands: ". . . Pat doesn't have a mink coat. But she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat, and I always tell her that she would look good in anything."
>
> Patriotism: "I was just there when the bombs were falling . . . I love my country. . . ."
>
> Stiff Upper Lip: "It isn't easy to come before a nationwide audience and bare your life, as I have done. . . ."
>
> Undaunted Crusader: ". . . The purpose of the smears, I know is this: to silence me, to make me let up."

For this performance, Nixon and the GOP received 400,000 telegrams and fan letters.

There are certain long-range questions which our four-month experience with political television has raised. Is there a political danger in the extraordinary financial burden which televising Presidential candidates places upon our two parties? It is certain that—barring some unexpected drastic revision of our FCC regulations—the preponderance of air time will continue to go to the political party able to raise the largest campaign funds. It is also certain that, because of television, campaign expenditures will continue drastically to rise.

Who will foot the bill? Can either party ethically afford to continue entrusting its fiscal destiny to a few wealthy contributors? Both parties might well benefit from another look at Beardsley Ruml's $5 certificate plan, which this year after a late start helped to democratize the financing of Governor Stevenson's television appearances. Spreading out the cost of political campaigns by methods such as this may prove not only morally imperative but financially necessary in the future.

**We also may well inquire** whether the present duration of the Presidential campaign is unduly long; or whether, due to the advent of television, less physical strain need be imposed upon candidates (and their audiences) than that which now results from eight strenuous weeks of stumping the country. Pessimists among us may perhaps wonder also whether the impact of television upon political techniques may ultimately reduce the Presidential campaign to the set routine of push-button warfare, managed by teams of "idea men," script writers and admen in their soundproof metropolitan offices, far removed from the voter and even the ward-heeler. It has yet to be demonstrated that candidates for high office can be purveyed, like Duz, Rinso and Lucky Strikes, solely on the manipulative principle of George Washington Hill: constant repetition and annoyance. The neurological patterns of the American voter are far more complex than those of Pavlov's dogs and still are subject to many far more conditioning influences than television and radio alone.

This may be so, but it will be a long time before anyone underestimates the power of an adman. As one Stevenson supporter put it when the votes were in: "Chalk this one up for BBD&O."

*This is the last of three articles on campaign media. The first, on the one-party press, appeared in the November 17 issue of the NR; the second, on the magazines in the campaign, in the November 24 issue.*

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# POINT FOUR AND THE BATTLE FOR ASIA

## I. EMPIRE'S END AND FREE ASIA'S BEGINNING

**by Clarence Decker**

*THE GREAT legacy of the Truman Administration and a major challenge to the new government of General Eisenhower is the Point Four program. More than ever its value and objectives need to be kept before us.*

*Dr. Clarence R. Decker, President of the University of Kansas City, and author of many books, served as Assistant Director of the Mutual Security Agency in charge of the Far Eastern program. In this capacity he toured throughout Southeast Asia this summer. In coming articles in the* NEW REPUBLIC *Dr. Decker will make his report on Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China, the Philippines and Formosa; a final article will summarize his conclusions and recommendations.*

Until the grim facts of China and Korea jolted our complacency, Southeast Asia was the orphan child in our effort to strengthen the free world. We now know that a free Southeast Asia is indispensable to a free world, that the region cannot remain free without outside assistance, and that this assistance must rest upon an imaginative program of economic, social and cultural co-operation, stressing a peoples-to-peoples relationship.

**On my recent inspection** tour for the Mutual Security Agency—my first visit to Asia since 1949—I was struck by Southeast Asia's phenomenal postwar recovery, her growing strength and stability and her increasing influence in world affairs, but much of this improvement, I had to admit, was simply the surface result of the recent years of relative peace. Most of the basic problems are still to be solved. The peace treaty with Japan, for example, was a diplomatic triumph, but Japan has yet to find relief from her explosive population pressures and to restore vital relations with her none too hospitable neighbors in Southeast Asia. The "neutralization" of Formosa is a defensive military triumph, but we have yet to demonstrate its positive effect in restoring a Free China's prestige in Southeast Asia or on the mainland itself. The Philippines has pulled herself out of threatened bankruptcy and political collapse with magnificent courage, but she has yet to solve the dilemma of a former colony now politically independent, but still economically dependent upon the United States. Indo-China's surface economy is improving, but the country is stalemated, on the battlefield with the Communist-led Viet-Minh and at the conference table with the French over the burning issue of full independence. Thailand's long independence has yet to be translated into meaningful social progress, and Indonesia and Burma, in addition to fighting internal Communist insurgency, have yet to underpin their newly won political freedom with a dynamic program of economic development.

Moreover Asia, far less than Europe, has developed little regional consciousness of her common problems, has found it almost impossible to forge an over-all political unity out of her cultural diversity. The Western world has likewise seemed unable to construct a comprehensive Far East policy. Our own country, while waiting for the Orient's reluctant dust to settle, has operated generally on a country-to-country, crisis-to-crisis basis. Some of our uncertainty stems from the difficulty of estimating Moscow's intentions in the Far East, of knowing whether Asia faces further external aggression or internal subversion or both, but we have given little more than lip-service to proposals for the development of greater regional co-operation.

Southeast Asia—which I am stretching to include Formosa, the Philippines, Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia—is an area about half the land size of the United States, with a larger population—175 million. The region has tremendous physical resources—95 percent of the world's raw rubber, 61 percent of its tin, and vast quantities of copra, copper, nickel, kapok, quinine, sugar, tea, hemp, pepper and, above all, rice. It has substantial but only partly developed supplies of bauxite, manganese, tungsten and oil.

We should be less than honest if we did not admit our hope that these resources—physical and human—will more and more contribute to a dynamic free world. And we should be less than realistic if we did not recognize that the Soviet regime is directing a highly organized campaign to capture this wide-open region.

Why can't Southeast Asia, with its large population and rich resources, take care of itself?

**The rip tide** of Japanese aggression that surged over the area during the war left a horrible toll of death, destruction and despair in its wake. Under the Occupation, Southeast Asian resources proved rich and easy loot for the invader. Later the area was again rocked in the battles that liberated the islands and peninsulas. Manila and Rangoon, for example, were flattened as badly as Warsaw and Berlin. Finally, local wars broke out, either to wrest independence from colonial powers or to demand a thinly disguised subservience to Moscow.

The devastation from war and internal strife was

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aggravated by the appallingly low level of living standards throughout the area. The vast majority of the people suffer from poverty, hunger and disease. Meanwhile, population is increasing everywhere more rapidly than our techniques for supporting it. Next year there will be 25 million more people in the world—with by far the greatest increase in Asia—and most of them are destined to live in want the rest of their lives. There is little or no formal education—literacy in Indonesia is less than 10 percent—but illiteracy does not blind people to the fact that some have, but that most have not. Under these circumstances, they will not choose rationally between Communism and democracy.

**In the pandemonium** and the destruction of the wars, it would have been difficult for anyone to stabilize government, repair damage and replace poverty and economic disruption with relative prosperity, but for the peoples of Southeast Asia it was a mountainous task—one for which most of them were ill-equipped. Western colonialism, unwittingly, had carried to the East its own ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, and the Japanese Occupation had demonstrated once and for all the vulnerability of the "white man's burden," but neither had prepared Southeast Asians for responsible self-government. Few persons were available for even work-a-day functions of government—post, telegraph, telephone, water, transport, public health. Save for a few lawyers and fewer doctors, no one was qualified in public health. Laos, squeezed between the Himalayan foothills and ancient Siam, had as many kings as doctors—one monarch, one native M.D.

This was the uncertain situation when the United States acted in 1948 with the Economic Co-operation Administration's programs for Europe and mainland China and in 1950 with the Technical Co-operation Administration for Africa and the Near East. In 1949, the ECA was authorized to utilize the residual funds of the China Aid Act in Southeast Asia, and in 1951 the ECA program was transferred to the Mutual Security Agency. Between June, 1950, and June, 1952, Congress appropriated some $408 million for its work.

Our help comes only when friendly countries request it and can demonstrate they need it. We advise, consult, even influence—as we should—but every effort is made to avoid what might be construed as interference in essentially internal political affairs. The program is country-wide in scope with the needs in all fields comprehensively surveyed and balanced against all resources on hand. Directly affecting the masses, it is a peoples-to-peoples approach to human problems.

A considerable part of the MSA program is military, and we should indeed be foolish to ignore military security wherever military threat exists. But we should err grievously if we put exclusive reliance upon it. There can be no real security anywhere without economic, social and cultural security.

If our objective in Southeast Asia could be reduced to one sentence, I believe it would be this: We are trying to help the people strengthen themselves—their bodies, their minds, their ability to earn a decent living and to live a dignified life—to the end that they will be truly democratic and strong partners in the common cause.

In contrast with the substantial capital outlays for European recovery and defense, our program in Southeast Asia concentrates on technical assistance with relatively small amounts of equipment and supplies. The cost is low—a little more than $150 million this year, less than one dollar for every American. This is a substantial amount, but it must be seen in the light of our total defense budget, more than 85 percent of which goes for military purposes. If war comes to Southeast Asia, it would cost each of us far more than this every day.

Our self-help dollars have already shown a solid return in the strengthening of free governments: minimum wage, tax and land reform; increased productivity in agriculture; improved public administration; the two-way flow of technicians—*from* the US to assist in on-the-spot development, and *to* the United States for advanced study. In Indo-China alone, we have 21 projects for attacking disease, 50 projects for agricultural output, and 35 projects for public works. Free enterprise has been fostered by making raw materials available to private industries, the increased use of commercial channels in procurement, encouragement of the sale of government-owned enterprise to private ownership and the signing of private-investment guarantee agreements with various countries.

**These are exciting undertakings,** even in the listing, but more exciting are the stories of the individual countries, which will be told in subsequent articles. The point I wish to stress now is that mutual assistance is neither a charity nor a boondoggling undertaking. It is, rather, a mixture of generosity and self-interest. From a purely selfish point of view, the United States has never before held such a stake in the world economy and never before has the free world held a larger stake in the American economy. In Asia we stand at a threshold. Here lies the battle for the minds and loyalty of a vast section of the world's population, and against the prevailing conditions of poverty, want and ignorance. Mutual assistance has a deep, warm human appeal. It is the American spirit at its best—a positive, creative spirit of co-operative attainment. It is the Point Four program in action—a program which, properly implemented and inspired, can go down in history as the greatest achievement of our age.

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# LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

## FARRELL'S TIME OBLITERATED

**by Malcolm Cowley**

JAMES T. FARRELL'S new novel, *Yet Other Waters*, is decidedly not one of his best, but it has an historically important subject—the Communist movement among writers in the middle 1930s—and it is the final volume of a trilogy. At this halting point in the author's career, there is something to be said about his achievements and shortcomings as a novelist and about the rather unusual purpose that lies behind them.

Farrell's first major work was the Studs Lonigan trilogy (1932-35), which was the life story of a Chicago Irish boy ruined by his environment. Revulsion and rebellion against the environment have never been expressed more powerfully, at greater length, in an American novel. The next major work was the Danny O'Neill tetralogy (1936-43), about a sensitive boy who lives in the same neighborhood, in worse conditions, and yet keeps faith with himself. Danny isn't a very interesting hero—we have read about too many others like him—but his desperately poor family is treated with a sympathy that is new in Farrell, and once more the narrative builds up to scenes of agonized revulsion.

YET OTHER WATERS, by James T. Farrell (The Vanguard Press; $3.75).

The first volume of the present trilogy was *Bernard Carr*, published in 1946. It is named for the hero, a young writer who might be an older Danny O'Neill, while his public adventures—I don't know anything about the private life—are almost exactly those of James T. Farrell. Bernard escapes from Chicago for a summer in New York, where he writes his first story, sells advertising for the Telephone Red Book and falls in love with a married woman. In the second volume, *The Road Between*, he marries a Chicago undertaker's daughter and takes her to Paris, where she has a stillborn child. He also launches himself on his career as a novelist.

*Yet Other Waters* starts in the spring of 1935, when Bernard is 29 years old and has written four successful books, one of which has been sold to the movies. He is happy to be making money and is proud of his wife and their new baby. At this point he is drawn hesitatingly into the Communist movement, after getting himself arrested for picketing a department store. He takes part in the first American Writers' Congress, but offends the group that is running the congress and isn't named to the executive committee. At a drunken dance held to raise funds for the *New Masses*, he meets a long-legged, expensive-looking girl, a Communist camp follower, who invites him to come to bed with her. Instead he visits his family in Chicago and learns that his mother is dying of cancer.

On his return to New York he watches the Communists break up a meeting that the Socialists had called to commemorate the Austrian revolution and afterward hears them tell lies about what had happened. It is a decisive experience and leads him to desert the Communists. His flirtation with them had been paralleled by a brief love affair with the expensive-legged girl; he now quarrels with her and is reunited with his wife, who is having another baby. The Communist claque ruins the sale of his new novel, although it is the best he has written. At the end of the trilogy Bernard feels that he has finished his education. He says to himself, "I'll go on struggling," then looks at his wife and adds: "We'll go on."

**Most** of the characters in the novel seem to be copied from actual persons and many of them can be identified by anyone who consults the printed records of the first American Writers' Congress. They are identified, however, by the parts they played or the speeches they delivered, not by their looks or gestures or personalities. Rather than being characters in fiction, imagined and brought to life, they seem to be figures in the author's memory, rendered indistinct by the passage of time.

Bernard's relatives are treated more understandingly, especially his simple, pious mother (so much like Villon's mother in the ballade), and the description of her first visit to a doctor is possibly the best single passage that Farrell has written. On the other hand, Bernard himself is less vivid than he was in the first volume of the trilogy, before the sharp edges of his temper had been sandpapered down by success. Almost everyone else in the novel keeps telling him that he is a true artist and the white hope of American letters, but he says and does very little to confirm their judgment. When we are given samples of his inner thoughts, they prove to be commonplace, badly expressed and lacking in the self-awareness that one expects of any distinguished writer.

As a study of the 1930s, the chief weakness of the novel is that it devotes little attention to ideas, even though they played a decisive part in the situation that Farrell is trying to remember. I don't mean the sort of ideas that an author puts forward as his own, transforming the story into an argument, but the other ideas that guide his separate characters and bring them into conflict. Without the ideas the conflict loses most of its historical meaning and becomes hardly more than a personal squabble.

Something dangerously close to that happens in Farrell's novel. Almost the only reason he gives why so many of his characters had become converts or fellow travelers of Communism is that they thought it was "good" for writers, in the sense of giving them new subjects, a new audience and a chance to work in Hollywood, while they feared that quarreling with the Party would get them unfavorable reviews and deprive them of their share in the future. All their actions seem to be dictated by vanity, fear and the herd instinct. With some that was doubtless the full story, but there are other cases on record

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where the effective lure of Communism was the opportunity it seemed to offer for disinterested service. The convert started with ideas of how to create a happier world, made an unselfish commitment, and ended in corruption or disillusionment; that was the drama of the period, which might be regarded as a tragedy or a comedy, depending on one's point of view. Farrell gives us some accurate pictures of Communist methods, but, by leaving out the ideas, he reduces the drama to a solemn farce.

**The faults** of the novel are not to be explained by lack of talent, since the talent has been displayed in other books. They seem to be connected with a method or purpose or theory of art which has been consistently followed in Farrell's work, although it produced much more interesting results when applied to boys on the South Side of Chicago than it does now when applied to an older hero in a more complicated environment that calls for something more than simple rejection. Farrell himself has said that his purpose is, "stated generally, to re-create a sense of American life as I have seen it, and as I have reflected upon and evaluated it." The statement is all too general: how and why does one re-create a sense of American life?

There is a partial answer to these questions at the very beginning of the present trilogy. In the first chapter Bernard is sitting in the New York Public Library and trying to write his first story, while he stares desperately at the clock. We soon learn that the clock is his enemy and that writing this story about his own past is Bernard's only weapon of defense:

> Behind the clock, Time was now continuing its deadly work. It was a quarter after ten on this June morning, June, 1927. And all of the past was nothing, gone. The past was locked in books and stored in shelves in this very building. But he must work. He must lock something of his own past in words that would one day be stored on library shelves. Someday, other young men would come here and read books written by Bernard Carr, and they, they too, would brood and fume and fight with Time, and then they would think of him. Poignantly, they would see him as one of the rare dead men who had won his war against Time.

That seems to express Bernard's central purpose, which does not change as he grows older. All through the trilogy he is described in the process of writing stories and novels—with haste and urgency, as if fighting against time—and always the process is defined as one of remembering his own past. He sits at his typewriter and remembers "how, as a boy, and even more so in his adolescence, he had resented the fact that he'd been nursed at his mother's breasts. . . . All these feelings of his past must go into the novel." Again he tries to recall "other details and more of what he had thought and felt on that evening. . . . This was all so far away now. It was gone. He was bringing it back in memory, re-creating it in words—all the fears and hopes, all that hungering and dreaming for love." He never seems to think of rearranging the past; instead he tries to set it down exactly. "Bernard remembered Elsie Cavanagh in a red sweater. In the story, Richard Clarke remembered a girl named Elsie in a red sweater." After reading dozens of such passages, one comes to feel that Farrell's life work, including his fourteen novels and his eight volumes of short stories, is not a work of invention or combination or construction, as with other novelists, but an immense labor of recollection.

In this country, no one else but Thomas Wolfe has remembered his past so determinedly, in so many long novels. Turning to France, however, we find the infinitely greater example of Marcel Proust, and it helps to define Farrell's work by contrast. Proust explains in the last volume of *Remembrance of Things Past* that he is trying to recapture the small, completely personal and often mistaken impressions which, in spite of their triviality or falseness, bring back an experience in its entirety (just as the taste of a little cake dipped in lime-blossom tea brings back his whole childhood). Farrell gives us few such impressions; instead he tries to catalogue all the factual details of a scene as he remembers it. That is a method condemned by Proust in advance.

There is, however, a more essential difference between Farrell's project and Proust's, based on their strikingly different attitudes toward their experiences. Proust was bent on recapturing time for the joy of possessing it. "The only true paradise," he said, "is the paradise we have lost." Farrell—if his autobiographical heroes are speaking for him—wants to recapture time in order to destroy it. That is what Bernard Carr is saying when he admits to himself "that he still had not escaped from the past. But he would! If necessary, he would write so that he would mangle and tear that past to ribbons and throw it away like something he had destroyed." In the same way Danny O'Neill promises himself that "he would drive this neighborhood and all his memories of it out of his consciousness with a book." Danny and Bernard Carr—and Farrell himself—are like patients on a psychoanalyst's couch, bringing up the details of a traumatic experience one after another, day after day, so as to banish the effects of the experience and make it possible for them to live in the present.

It is a purpose that can produce impressive novels—and Farrell has written them—but the novels must deal with special types of subject matter. In *Yet Other Waters* he has ventured out of what seems to be his proper field. He is treating an historical subject without displaying a sense of history, and with a technique that is aimed at the total obliteration of the past.

## A BOY'S HEAVEN

REPORT FROM PARADISE, by Mark Twain (Harper; $2.50).

MARK TWAIN'S OPINIONS on life, letters, art, politics, etc., were often quite silly and full of a deliberate, booming irreverence; in spite of this they could be marvellously funny. For example, he said of a sunset by Turner that it reminded him of "a cat throwing a fit in a platter of tomatoes." This wisecrack should have been simply outrageous; it wasn't, and neither were the others of its kind. His *bons mots* were frequently as good as, and sometimes better than, the objects that provoked them. Besides, there was a very shrewd calculation in

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the way he advertised the philistine in himself. No one really believed him; and even when he was inadvertently betraying his incapacities and limitations he got away with it because he never varied his tone or strayed onto the wrong side. He looked the perfect democratic humanitarian, tracking down cant and prejudice, his motives benevolent and only his judgment subject to error.

There is much of this in *Report from Paradise* (which consists of "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven," published for the first time in its entirety, and a related fragment, "Letter from the Recording Angel"). He attached great importance to this work, and referred to it in his letters and conversations as though it were the fruit of his deepest reflections on human destiny; but for this, one must turn to "What is Man?" *Report from Paradise* seems to have been mainly intended to infuriate genteel hypocrites and teach ethnocentrism a lesson in the relativity of values.

**The story,** which is the account of a dream, though it reads like an actual assumption, is related by Captain Stormfield himself, a boisterous seadog, who imagines he is going to hell. The Captain and all his friends in the afterlife smoke a spiritualized tobacco, speak atrocious English, rich in slang, drop their final *g*'s, call harps and wings a nuisance, and compare archangels and patriarchs in terms of their ability to draw a crowd. Race prejudice is disposed of by Stormfield's testimony that whites are in a minority, and the Christian patent on salvation is outlawed by his discovery that the population of heaven is made up of representatives of all the religions, including the heathen. The atmosphere is Old Testament, added to Missouri political rally, with an anticipatory touch of science fiction. No mention is made of the saints, martyrs or founders of the Church, and there is only one indirect reference to Christ; our world (it is known as the Wart) is only one of a great number from which the worthy are drawn, and some of the blessed are green in color and have more than one head.

The purpose of this heaven is, of course, to reward virtuous achievement in life; but it is also dedicated to the encouragement of talents that were stifled in the finite existence. It follows from this policy that the heroes are not necessarily the ones who were famous on earth, but only the truly deserving. Thus Homer and Shakespeare pay homage to a Tennessee tailor named Billings, the greatest poet of all time, forced by the circumstances of his life to remain mute and inglorious; an obscure slave gives pointers on military science to Alexander, Caesar and Napoleon (Mark Twain doesn't say how they got in), and all heaven holds a torchlight procession to greet a bartender from Hoboken.

Heaven for heaven, Mark Twain's is probably as good as any other in literature, and with its processions, choir practice and novices trying their wings, it has the advantage over most of providing an activity to fill up some of that everlasting empty time. Nevertheless, it is an extraordinarily boyish paradise, and made all the more so by Mark Twain's delight in estimating the size of the place, the number of people it holds and its distance from the earth. Though on a grand scale, the over-all effect is that of a prank which, in spite of its high humor, was not entirely motivated by a goodnatured love of fun. One can't help being reminded of the various sacrifices of vitality and independence which Mark Twain was forced to make most of his life, as well as the repressions he endured on his own; only such a man would think of tobacco and slang in heaven. Moreover, this naughtiness served him not only when there was fair game in sight, as there certainly was in religion, but whenever he took a shot at a subject where he was not sure of his aim. He misbehaved out of resentment at feeling himself disqualified, like a boy, in the grown up world of the mind.

The only regrettable thing is that as an artist he could not grow outside the boy's world, away from the boyhood romance. The very images of his fiction show what a loss he suffered. In *Tom Sawyer* it is the cave, in *Huckleberry Finn*, the river, the greatest of all his images, that dominate his writing—earth and water, elemental things. In "Captain Stormfield" there is nothing but empty space, millions of miles of it, through which the Captain whizzes for 30 years, outracing comets, before he reaches the gates of heaven. There is something pathetic about Stormfield's 30-year trip through space: the image of a man who made himself bold for a venture into the upper regions—where the air was too thin for him.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

## ANOTHER WORLD VIEW

CITIZENS OF THE WORLD, by Stringfellow Barr (Doubleday; $3).

STRINGFELLOW BARR is an aggressively independent man. The handful of Russian officials allowed to read *Citizens of the World* will detest it, and so will a great many Americans. Dr. Barr might be forgiven if his ideas were less dynamic, his arguments less precise, his prose less trenchant. As it is, he will unquestionably be attacked by the zealots of the right and left and even by some of the unhappy many in the turbulent center.

There will be those who insist that Dr. Barr is a Communist or, worse yet, a fellow-traveler, two descriptions that will no doubt find increasingly widespread and inaccurate use in this country in the years just ahead. He is neither; nevertheless, he has had the courage to

> . . . avoid becoming what many of my friends have, alas, become: a fellow-traveler-by-opposition, that is, an anti-Communist ready to dislike anything Communists like or to like anything Communists dislike. . . . For this is to be dominated by the Kremlin.

*Citizens of the World* is the outgrowth of a marvelously persuasive pamphlet, *Let's Join the Human Race,* which Justice Douglas calls "One of the most important tracts of our time." In extending his original thesis, Dr. Barr has outlined in considerable detail a foreign policy for the US which, if we are brave enough and wise enough, just might save us from a war that will quite probably destroy both Communism and democracy and most of the adherents of both. He is mainly concerned with the two billion men and women in the world who are neither

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Russian nor American and "who are a little skeptical of both Moscow and Washington."

In our well-meant but clumsy attempts to make ourselves loved, Dr. Barr believes we have made at least five major mistakes. We have assumed (1) that, without Soviet Russia to contend with, the world would be wonderfully peaceful, (2) that because of, to use one of Madison Avenue's more abhorrent phrases, American "know-how," the US alone can easily rebuild enough of the world's economy to stop Russia, (3) that "free enterprise" will do the job more efficiently than the government, (4) that when we are kind enough to allow the rest of the United Nations to help, we can hold our own contribution down to a few million, and (5) that we can back any government sufficiently anti-Communist, even Franco's Spain.

Such errors are undeniably dangerous; to continue them may be fatal.

> The only way to "stop Communism," [Barr writes] is to stop considering it the source of all the world's ills and to understand why our neighbors are more interested in its cause, human misery. The only way to stop it is to remove its cause —in short, to treat the disease and not merely the symptom.

Even if we did that, we would, Barr insists, eventually discover that a world of sovereign states cannot possibly survive. "There is just not enough security to go around." Thus we must take the lead in helping form a world government, one in which the elected representatives would be responsible to the people of each country rather than to the various national governments.

At the moment, however, Dr. Barr is certain such a government is not going to be formed. More immediate problems can, however, he believes, be settled. The main one is to see that everybody has enough to eat, which can be accomplished only by building up the undeveloped parts of the world. President Truman's Point Four program is not nearly enough—even if it is not now abandoned, which seems likely. Instead, Barr suggests an International Development Authority, making use of this country's often forgotten but invaluable experience with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

What the TVA taught the world, and what we Americans have been forgetting since the war, is the massive use of capital and technique for a twentieth-century kind of pioneering in "colonial" economics. It is the only social technique to date that shows signs of meeting the kind of economic problems which the Socialists feel can be met by Socialism alone.

Unhappily, the US has consistently opposed such a plan when it has been proposed in the United Nations by other free nations of the world. So has the Soviet Union. It is almost the only issue on which the two of us can be expected to agree.

Dr. Barr outlines the plan with sweet reasonableness, but this is not an age of reason. His quiet voice may be drowned by the lunatic roar of the war-now adherents. If that happens, we are all of us lost.

Nevertheless, Dr. Barr has written his book with a belligerent optimism which is comforting and infectious this gloomy mid-November. *Citizens of the World* is certainly the most arguable book of this year; it is also an urgently important one.

MERLE MILLER

## FAMILIAR ESSAYIST, LTD.

THE OPEN NIGHT, by John Lehmann (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

MR. LEHMANN misdirects the reader and does himself a disservice by adding a pretentious prologue, *The Search for Myth*, and an epilogue, *The Poet in the Modern World*, to a group of sensitive impressions about those writers who have died in his lifetime and have most moved him. Nor should he later have tried, by a backward look, to find in his sketches any "search for the motives and ideals that underlie the life-pattern of men and women of genius who have lived through the stresses of our age." The light fillings of his concoctions are more delectable than the heavy outer crust would seem to indicate, for the impressions themselves are in the best tradition of the familiar essay and revive an almost moribund art in this day of the formal and technical analysis. He writes charmingly in the first person without pose or constraint in a style that is easy and conversational, his anecdotes are memorable, and his cogitations rarely go beyond the confines of amiable reflection into the more rarefied air of speculation where they must carry a heavier burden of proof and are exposed to the dangers of a sudden crash-landing. He is best when, with the proper tone of seriousness or slight melancholy, he plays with the greater thoughts of other men and does not venture too far out of their protective shadow.

Thus we have charming portraits of Virginia Woolf sticking on labels and tying up parcels in the front room of the Hogarth Press, or of Yeats fallen asleep in a London Club over an open book (but alas, we are not told what book that was), with considerations of those rhythms which give to a poem the "tone of voice" which distinguishes it from others. There are essays on Proust's and Rilke's dependence on the inner life, and on the insistence of Rilke not to love or be loved that he might remain freely occupied with his art alone. James Joyce is praised in not fearing to create "the two most uncomfortable masterpieces of our time." There are perceptive considerations of the poetic aspects of James's *The Aspern Papers* as the "sonnet of the novel," and the possibility that Conrad in *The Rover* was making a deliberate parallel with certain parts of Homer's *Odyssey*. Perhaps the most moving essays, handled with tact and sincerity, are those on four poets who died young: a contrast between the fanciful poetry of Rupert Brooke and the experimental yet pity-laden poetry of Wilfred Owen; an elegy on Alun Lewis which stresses his accomplishment without unduly overestimating his worth; and finally a touching tribute to his Greek friend, Demetrios Capetanakis, whose collected prose and poetry, which Mr. Lehmann published some years ago, show an amazing mastery, especially in the poetry, of a language learned late in a short life.

But a reading of *The Search for Myth* confirms the judgment I had formed when I heard Mr. Lehmann deliver this talk at the British Institute in Athens a few years ago: that he is here hopelessly out of his depth, confused and confusing. He fails to define his terms,

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to distinguish between image, symbol, and myth, and therefore posits problems and makes claims for major poets which are not true. Poets may, as he says in one place, "transform myths," but they cannot, as he states in another place, "create" them, for myths, in the sense of an ordering of belief, are the slow products of an entire tribe or nation. As Eliot has said, not the poetry first and the religion afterwards, but religion first and the poetry following. The main cause for obscurity in the major works of our time is primarily caused by poets who were unwillingly forced to create their own "systems" since they are denied one by the disintegrations of their times. And although I believe the role of the poet today to be a great one, Mr. Lehmann in *The Poet and the Modern World* makes such romantic and Shelleyesque claims for him in terms of "visitations of divinity" that he does dedicated poets a disservice by so shifting the emphasis as to topple down what he and they would support.

KIMON FRIAR

## THE OTHER STORY

PATTERN FOR LIBERTY: *The Story of Old Philadelphia*, by Gerald W. Johnson (McGraw-Hill; $7.50).

THERE IS a powerful tradition in the Western world of endowing cities with the qualities of the female of the species, and so endowed, to court them, vaunt them, become captive to them—in short, love them. Rarely have American celebrants of cities, rivers, or regions approached them with anything vaguely reminiscent of the lyric note. Now the Brahmins of Boston and the Cavaliers of Virginia will have cause to be ever so bleak, because Gerald Johnson has written a lyric about youthful Philadelphia, and, fact or fiction, it is an enchanting offering that he creates.

Mr. Johnson's Philadelphia is not the home of the *Bulletin* nor the Hepburnesque (male? female?) Main Liners. It is not a city clad in Quaker gray nor soiled with the lightest blanket of smoky soot. It is rather the city of some 28,000 souls, working and hoping in that purposeful period when representatives gathered from all over the Atlantic seaboard to "fabricate" a Constitution that would put some teeth in the gummy maw of the Articles of Confederation. Which is to say, it is the modest Athens of America, the city of culture and go, host to Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, home of Franklin and Benjamin Rush and Robert Morris. Mr. Johnson insists that the Founding Fathers and those who set the Republican vessels on her long and prosperous voyage, were not old but relatively young, confident, and full of courage. One indeed was chronologically old at this time, but eternally young, the incomparable and original Benjamin. Out of this confident and sanguine company came the daring experiment of self-government, an experiment based on faith in Tom's and Harry's ability to participate intelligently if everyone agreed that they most likely could, given the chance.

From the cradle of liberty to the infancy of the Republic; from the city of culture to the city of commerce; from old Philadelphia to the great metropolis of a colossal world power; in all these phases, Mr. Johnson manages to read one continuing truth, and voice one hope. The truth is that Philadelphia, like the "whole American story," is the record of ingenious adaptation by men in a new hemisphere of the cultural pattern of Western European civilization. The adaptation creates a new emergent, the specific of being "American," a specific that is tricky to define but fascinating to evoke—as Mr. Johnson does. The hope that pervades this flashback to young Philadelphia is the hope that we will act in the future as we did in past crises. "Americans proved. . . . they were equal to it. For every black care that rides our backs, they had an equivalent, or worse; yet, armed with faith and courage and cheerful hearts, they came through."

It is necessary to comment on the profuse color reproductions and handsome —indeed, lavish—layout of this book. The paintings of old Philadelphia are distinctly patriotic in content and representational in style, and are a pleasant device for giving concreteness to the impressions of atmosphere that Mr. Johnson conjures with.

ADRIENNE KOCH

## MORE NOTES ON CULTURE

CROWD CULTURE, by Bernard Bell (Harper; $2).

IN HIS ROLE of prophet and critic of society Matthew Arnold was sometimes called "the kid-glove Jeremiah." Though Canon Bell does not speak in Arnold's majestically sibylline tones, he too is a Jeremiah—without the gloves, but no less an alarmed and concerned watcher of the signs of the times. His books and his numerous articles have had a common insistent theme. Our civilization is gravely sick; and unless we can be wakened to recognition and admit the necessity of cure, the sickness will be fatal.

The view is held in widely divergent quarters, of course. Among its other well-known Christian adherents are such people as Eric Gill, Dorothy Day, and Bell's fellow Anglican, Eliot, to whom his theory of culture seems to be closest. But he is more like Gill and Miss Day in his vigor and directness, in being constantly down to cases. The most interesting chapters in this short book are those devoted to the school and the church; Bell believes that both are now signally failing to perform their indispensable functions. Our schools are turning out ill-educated barbarians whose only values are those of a sensate culture. And hear this distinguished churchman on the church: it is presently "conceited, cowardly, sycophantic, of the world as much as in it."

Not surprisingly, it is in the realm of practical solutions that Bell, like most thoughtful social critics, is weakest.

He hopes for the emergence of a "democratic elite" committed to classic Christian values—such, I take it, as Eliot has described. What this would involve politically nobody knows; but not theocracy—or fascism. Liberals who do not share Bell's religious convictions will disagree with some of his suggestions; but they will recognize that his concern for society, though differently based, is as genuine as their own. PAUL DINKINS

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## LOWER ELYSIUM

THE PARADISE BELOW THE STAIRS, by André Brincourt (Duell, Sloan & Pearce—Little, Brown; $3).

THIS prize-winning novel is on the paradoxical perversities and innocences of the pubescent. It suffers. First, from coming after Gide, Cocteau, and Radiguet on the subject and repeating motifs from their work. Second, from looking like a social study of juvenile delinquency and so falling in with the current French fashion for documentary literature. Third, from smart manipulation of a story which would have made the hand of Dostoievsky or Spillane himself unsteady. Fourth, from moralizing. M. Brincourt has an exquisite moral imagination, if not as broad and deep as that of Sartre or Simone de Beauvoire or Camus, and it is a pity that in France it may seem too fashionable and here not fashionable enough.

The new Puritanism in France is bound to remind us of the 19th century and so bore us, but no doubt to French feeling it revives the intensities of 17th century Jansenism or the rigors of Corneille. M. Brincourt can make many of his dramatic sequences turn on stiff points of honor or morals like a Cornelian tragedy, and perhaps French writing is moving again out of naturalism toward a large tragic art on a moral basis, but just now, in the minor stages, it can hardly compete in the American market with the handsomer exteriorities and less differentiated passions of Italian work, for example. And, in a season tuned to political oratory and the plangent parable of Mr. Hemingway, it is difficult to give a decent attention to a small and concentrated and very delicate examination of conscience with most of its wits about it.

**The book** has superficial faults of form. Though infrequently, M. Brincourt does indulge in extraneous moral commentary, forces scenes to their moral point, and confuses the otherwise beautiful rendition to adolescent mentalities by the too mature manner of his prose. But the force of life he has given his young characters is prodigious, and one is drawn into their lives and minds irresistibly, as if one were still one of them. M. Brincourt, as *prosateur*, often strikes one as an earnest young schoolmaster, while the reader lives in sympathy and complicity with the characters behind his back. His point of view is unsettled because his many gifts get in each other's way—a dramatic gift in both action and dialogue, a poetic gift that can sustain infallibly a wonderful romantic scene like that in the Luxembourg gardens, a gift of moral penetration, and perhaps best of all, so full an imagination of his characters that their life remains vivid and entire through the uncertainties of the form and a mercilessly well conducted plot that frequently betrays them.

Erma Briffault's translation is remarkably transparent, and, in the impossible matter of schoolboy slang from one language to another, quite painless and often the right flavor.

DONALD SUTHERLAND

## THE POET IN NEW YORK

### by Eric Bentley

THE IMAGE of Lorca at Columbia University is surely less dramatic than that of Marivaux at Ziegfeld Theatre. The picture is not like one of Watteau's (to name a contemporary and kindred spirit of Marivaux); but then neither is the image of Marivaux at Marigny; and, what is more important, neither was 18th-century France: Marivaux and Watteau lived in a dream. Grimm and Voltaire tried to dismiss Marivaux 200 years ago, the *N. Y. Times* reports today that his masterpiece "does not appear to be remarkably distinguished," but the dream lives on—because it is a dream of reality. Indeed it differs from "life" only in that the irrelevancies are left out. Marivaux has a subject: the awakening of love, the recognition of its awakening, and, to some extent, the results of such recognition. The title of his first success—*Harlequin poli par l'amour*—indicates the kind of result that interested him. Everything he is not interested in he excludes with the precision and ruthlessness of a surgeon. His people may not have the various characteristics which a different tradition has led us to expect, but they have all that is necessary to the drama in hand. Nothing in English is very close to him; our closest analogues, perhaps, are Jane Austen and Henry James. French writers in this tradition to whom we have granted the "distinction" Mr. Atkinson refuses to Marivaux include Musset and Giraudoux.

Marivaux' approach to theatre may be just as strange to us as his approach to human character. He was oddly placed. Though Adrienne Lecouvreur once played a part for him, he had success almost exclusively with Italian actors who at first didn't know French. But even total speechlessness may be a resource. The new harlequin, Thomassin, made his debut in a scene without words. And, because his predecessor in the role had been a great acrobat, while he himself had been a tragedian, Thomassin created a new character: a quiet, quasi-naïve harlequin, spiritual, touching. One Autereau wrote him a couple of scripts in which he enacted the awakening of love in an innocent heart. This was where Marivaux took over, and where our thoughts jump forward to Debureau, Chaplin, and Barrault.

In *Harlequin poli par l'amour* at the Comédie Française you can see the once new harlequin in the spry impersonation of Jacques Charon. For New York, Barrault has modestly chosen a piece in which the clowns are neither melancholy nor conspicuous: *Les Fausses Confidences* rests principally on the shoulders of Madeleine Renaud and Jean Desailly. The work of these two superb artists suffers a little from the size of the Ziegfeld, from the audience's ignorance of French, and possibly, I suppose, from the prevalence of the Atkinsonian view of Marivaux. It remains for the connoisseur of literature the perfect embodiment of Marivaux' humanity and for the student of acting a lesson in the handling of a script which offers none of the levers that the modern actor is taught to look for. (In self-defense, the latter calls this French work "stylized," the truth being that it has a style to which he has not found the clues. He finds it "unreal," thus unconsciously revealing both a disastrously narrow notion of reality and a stupid failure to

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recognize the "unreality" of all technique, all art.)

We see Thomassin's new harlequin—or is it pierrot, and do historians derive him from brighella?—in the second item on the program: *Baptiste*. Here we are *en plein romantisme*, it is (almost) one of Charlie's dream sequences. Pierrot dreams that the statue of Columbine has come to life and that Harlequin has run off with her. In order to follow the pair to the ball, Pierrot robs and murders an old-clothes-man. Since the ghost of the latter rises up to demand vengeance, Pierrot would be in a fix—if he didn't wake up. The best bits in the narrative are those with Chaplinesque charm and point: for example, the rope Pierrot prepares to hang himself with he inadvertently lends to a little girl to skip with. Seeing *Baptiste* for the third time, I was surprised how well it wears. Barrault's own performance is perhaps less inventive and less dazzlingly comic than the "Bip" series of Marcel Marceau whom America has not yet seen. The reconstruction of a Debureau pantomime (for that is what *Baptiste* is) by Barrault and Prévert is authentic without being more exciting than one I saw in Rome by Jacques Lecoq. But Barrault is no specialist. If he has disappointed the pure mimes, it is because he has exploited their specialty for the general good of theatre. It is his mission, not to do one thing greatly, but to do everything splendidly. If as Pierrot he lacks some final quality equivalent to, say, the profound dignity of Chaplin, his wit and energy go to the making of a fey sprite with an *espièglerie* of its own. In any event, Barrault's supreme and exemplary achievement is not in a single role, nor yet in all his roles, it is that he is the complete man of the theatre: actor of all types of roles, director of all types of plays (and non-plays,) creator of a repertoire, builder and educator of a company.

A sense of all this makes each evening at the Ziegfeld a festive one. I find in the audiences a joy and exhilaration far in excess of what press reports, though friendly, would suggest. The source of this delight may be partly the fascination of the unknown—there are gasps of pleasure at every move Barrault makes—yet it is even more the shock of recognition. Recognition of the art of theatre in its fullness, its many-sidedness. Marivaux or no Marivaux, here is no exotic dish for gourmets; it is the wholesome food we have forgotten the taste of. As far as sophistication goes, New York (and I quote) is "the most sophisticated city in the world," "the modern Babylon." For a good old-fashioned evening in the theatre—no anxiety, no cage—you must visit our friends from the good old-fashioned city on the Seine.

## BROADWAY: AUTUMN 1952

MANY READERS have wanted verdicts on those plays that have not been reviewed at length in the *NR*. Exigencies of space limit the vocabulary of these verdicts to the four words excellent, good, fair, and bad.

GILBERT AND SULLIVAN OPERA (Chartock's Season) [Mark Hellinger]: acting — fair; musicianship — good; costumes and decor—bad.

THE TIME OF THE CUCKOO, by Arthur Laurents [Empire]: play—fair; lead performance—excellent; general performance—fair to good; directing—excellent.

BERNARDINE, by Mary Chase [Playhouse]: play—fair; performance—fair; directing—bad; decor—bad.

MY DARLIN' AIDA (music by Verdi, book by C. Friedman) [Winter Garden]: libretto—bad; musicianship—good; costumes and decor—excellent.

DIAL "M" FOR MURDER, by Frederick Knott [Plymouth]: play—fair; performance—fair to good.

THE DEEP BLUE SEA, by Terrence Rattigan [Morosco]: play—fair; performance—good.

CLIMATE OF EDEN, by Moss Hart [Martin Beck]: play—fair; general performance—good; lead performance—bad.

LE PROCES (Kafka's *The Trial*, adapted by André Gide and Jean-Louis Barrault) [Ziegfeld]: play—good; performance—good to excellent.

THE SEVEN YEAR ITCH, by George Axelrod [Fulton]: play—fair; performance—good.

ERIC BENTLEY

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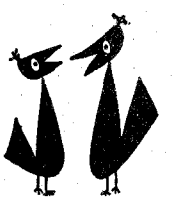

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